DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 179 636 UD 019 959

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TITLE The Prospects for Progress and Partnerships in Urban Education: A Report with Recommendations for Policy, Research and Knowledge Utilization.
INSTITUTION Research for Better Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO RBS-DF-53
PUB DATE 78
NOTE 45p.
AVAILABLE FROM Research for Better Schools, Inc., 444 North Third Street, Philadelphia, PA 19123 ($2.00)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Educational Administration; *Educational Finance; *Educational Policy; *Government School Relationship; Management; *Public Policy; *Urban Education

ABSTRACT

This report analyzes the themes, issues, and concerns which were discussed at the Fourth Annual Conference on Urban Education, and provides an overview of issues associated with the development of a national urban policy. Discussion at the Conference focused on the context of progress in urban schools, the need to focus the relationship between the educational system and other societal institutions, and strategies for school management for urban school systems. Five general conclusions emerged: (1) the urban school and the urban district must be viewed as an integral part of other systems; (2) urban schools and educational policy and research have survived numerous traumas in the last decade; (3) the effective management of urban school systems in support of student learning and development should be a primary issues for the 1980s; (4) there has been little consensus about the development of priorities for the revitalization of urban education as a component of national urban policy; and (5) the prospects for a new wave of urban reform and revitalization have never been brighter. A framework for the identification of alternative and complementary issues in urban education is proposed. (Author/RLV)

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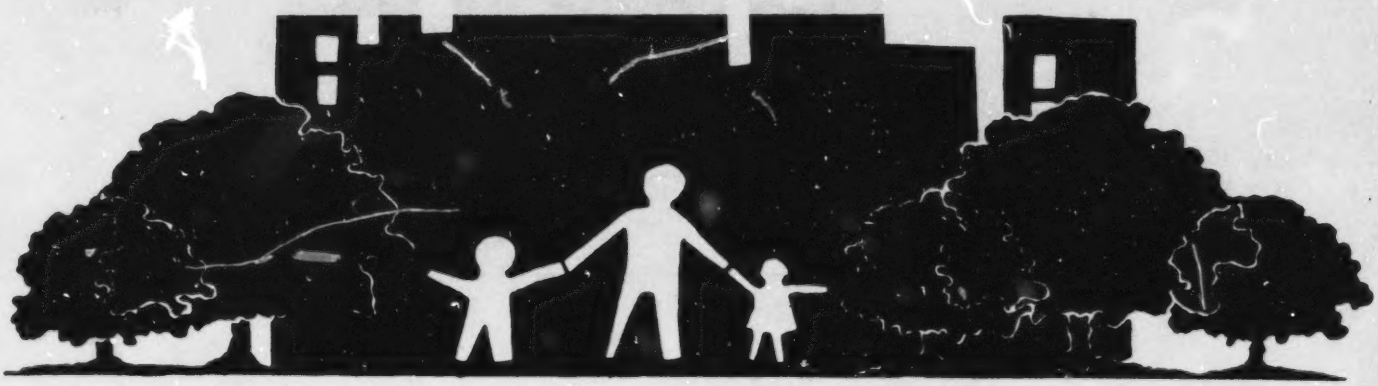
ED179636

Research for Better Schools, Inc.
1700 Market Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

1978

Publication No. DF-53



THE PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS AND PARTNERSHIPS IN URBAN EDUCATION

A Report with Recommendations for Policy, Research and Knowledge Utilization

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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The preparation of this report was partially supported by resources provided by the U.S. Office of Education through Dr. Thomas K. Minter, Deputy Commissioner, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education. We appreciate his support and cooperation. The interpretations and conclusions however do not represent the official policies of that Bureau nor of any of the participating agencies and organizations.

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The Prospects for Progress and Partnerships in Urban Education
A Report with Recommendations for Policy, Research and Knowledge Utilization

By
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Preface

This report represents an overview of the prospects and opportunities for progress and partnerships for improving education in American cities.[1] The report begins with an analysis of the themes, issues and concerns which were discussed at the Fourth Annual Conference on Urban Education on November 18-21, 1978. The report also provides an overview of issues associated with the development of a national urban policy. A series of conclusions and questions about urban education are developed. Finally a framework for developing recommendations for policy, research and knowledge utilization is proposed.

I am indebted to JoAnn Weinberger, conference coordinator, and the members of the planning committee for their support in developing such a stimulating conference. I am grateful to Teresa Lenoir, Lynn Gregory and Brenda Turnbull for their preparation of conference materials. I am appreciative of the opportunity to have worked with members of the Association for Urban Education, the department of urban education at Temple University, and the several state departments of education who co-sponsored the conference. The conclusions and recommendations which are provided in this report, however, reflect my interpretations and do not represent the official policies of any of the participating organizations.

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[1]The other publications which provide an interpretation of material presented at the urban conference on "Partnerships for Progress in Urban Education" are *Urban Schools in Urban Systems, Selected Papers* edited by Gary Gappert, and *Program Abstracts, An Overview of Research and Practice in Urban Education* prepared by Gary Gappert and JoAnn Weinberger. Both are available from Research for Better Schools, 1700 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

I. AN OVERVIEW OF CONFERENCE ISSUES AND CONCERNS

Introduction

The Fourth National Conference on Urban Education, "Partnerships for Progress in Urban Education," was designed around the upbeat theme of celebrating "the progress of urban education and planning for future partnerships in spite of the fiscal constraints facing schools today." It was hoped that the conference would provide its participants with an opportunity to gain new perspectives and to reconfirm their commitment to the potential of urban education.

In order to achieve these goals, the conference was organized around five themes:

- Educating Urban Youth;
- Fiscal Priorities;
- Emerging Partnerships;
- Political and Legal Realities;
- Strategies in School Management.

Each theme was highlighted by a keynote address or panel discussion, special symposia and a large number of small group sessions including paper presentations, symposia and workshops. Generally speaking, the keynote address, panel discussions and special symposia were concerned with relatively general issues while the small group sessions involved presentations of experiences with programs in specific settings.

As urban education approaches the start of the next decade, a backward glance reveals the concerns of desegregation, decentralization, community representation, economic flight, the emergence of minority leadership, the development of substantial bilingual populations and many other issues characteristic of the turbulent times of the 1960's and 1970's. The question for the 1980's is: Will these issues continue to dominate urban education in the 1980's, or will different concerns and opportunities present themselves?

During an informal interview, a conference participant remarked that he was surprised at how different this conference was from previous ones. In the past, he said, the conferences focused primarily on desegregation while this one appeared to have a broader, more sociological focus. Clearly in line with the intent of the conference organizers, the mood of most speakers reflected cautiously optimistic and pragmatic concerns. In particular, emphasis was placed on developing awareness of the realities of the relationships between the education system and social, political, economic and historical features of American society. Awareness was perceived as an important first step, but understanding, communication and the development of structural mechanisms for sharing the responsibility of educating the youth of our society with other groups in "partnership" with the educational system, were seen as the ultimate goals. The Conference Charge, as presented by Dr. Bernard Watson, Vice President for Academic Administration at Temple University, was clearly of this view.

Conference Charge

It was Watson's view that urban education is in a state of flux because we have yet to define the social, economic, and political forces that impinge on it. He attributes this failure to historical factors. To begin with, educators are only beginning to eradicate the long-held myth that education is apolitical. Because they bought into that myth, educators have failed to

address their critics who seem to expect the education system to resolve all the social problems of the cities. Instead of apologizing for their failures, Watson suggests that educators take the offensive and point out that they've done a better job than anyone else has, and that the responsibility for solving these problems lies with the critics as well as the educators.

Educators are responsible, according to Watson, for communicating the difficulties of their charge, for following up and developing processes that have worked in the past, and for eliciting the support (both psychological and fiscal) of the members of the communities and institutions that provide the context for their professional activities.

Watson placed particular emphasis on the need to develop lines of communication between schools and the home community of the student. Citing cultural and structural changes in American society, he demonstrated that children and adults are becoming increasingly segregated from one another--a structural feature that is reinforced by the schools.

As he indicated:

> We are in a process of deculturation in America and essentially what this means is that the value structures which are generally transported and transformed and transmitted to the young by older people are no longer operating and they are no longer operative because younger people are not in contact with older people anymore. The holders of the sacred values in any society are generally the older people. It is from older people that we relive history, that we understand history, that we feel history and the changes of culture. And it is because the older people, having been through those changes and having internalized those values and can explain them and transmit them, that we get the core values that hold society together.

This "compartmentalization on secular dimensions" is resulting in a dangerous situation in which youth are becoming part of a permanent uneducated, unemployed and unskilled "underclass." Unless educators, parents and other community members begin to work together to break down the structural barriers between themselves and the children they are charged with socializing, this situation may lead to further alienation and ultimate disaster.

In a paper prepared for distribution at the conference,[2] Watson concluded:

> In the final analysis partnership for progress in education will have no meaning until and unless the several sectors—schools, community and home—develop consensus on:
>
> What we want for education
> What we need for education
> What we have the capacity and will to do.

The Context of Progress in Urban Schools

Before continuing with a discussion of the concerns for urban education expressed at the conference, it might be useful to elaborate on the content of the "progressive" interpretation of

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[2]Bernard C. Watson, "Urban Education: Past, Present and Future," *Urban Schools in Urban Systems*, Research for Better Schools, Philadelphia, 1979.

what is occurring in urban education. The conference organizers were strongly influenced by both their own experiences and the findings of the *Urban Education Studies* conducted by Francis S. Chase for the Council of Great City Schools and the University Council for Educational Administration. These studies were initiated in the spring of 1977 with support from the Spencer Foundation. Thirty large city school districts provided data on a total of almost 600 programs in four designated areas: Action-Learning, Basic Skills, Cultural Pluralism and School/Community Interaction. A review of the successful programs provides support for the following summary of encouraging developments:[3]

1. Urban education has an inner vitality which is generating innovative programs and strategies of great potential even in the midst of extremely adverse conditions.
2. There is a deepening concern for the needs not well served by traditional schooling. Fewer educators and board members now attribute low achievement to inherent disabilities, lack of effort, or poverty of parents; and more and more are revising upward their expectations for students formerly regarded as slow learners.
3. An increasing number of community agencies and groups are cooperating with schools to develop enriched environments for learning and the gulf between schools and society is being bridged in many new ways. The recruitment of citizen volunteers to serve as counselors, resource persons, and tutors is gaining momentum and larger and larger numbers of parents are being involved as partners in the education of their own and other children.
4. Innovative programs and alternatives are producing significant changes in the character of educational experiences provided at both elementary and secondary levels. With the active support and participation of community organizations and citizens, educators in many cities are creating significant alternatives to traditional and inappropriate classroom experiences.
5. The conditions essential to the success of magnet schools and other options are beginning to be better understood and progress is being made toward creation of the essential conditions. Systematic curriculum development and modification is proceeding with improved provisions for initial and continuing staff development. Moreover, there is beginning to be a more general acceptance of the importance of evaluation at every stage of development, implementation, and subsequent operation.
6. Federal intervention—through grants and contracts, equal opportunity requirements, and court decrees—have either triggered or expedited a high proportion of the innovations which urban districts rate as unusually successful.
7. Local and situational factors--including program leadership, staff and district commitment, and effectiveness of implementation—are crucial to program success.
8. Continuous program evaluation, adaptation to revealed student needs, and staff development are essential to continuing program success and local support.

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[3]Francis S. Chase, *Urban Education Studies*. Council of Great City Schools, Washington, D.C., 1978.

9. Most of the highly successful and promising programs represent significant departures from traditional schooling through emphasis on student choice and responsibility, experience-based education, and greater use of resources outside of the school.

10. The many promising approaches and programs, which are now offering invigorating educational experiences to some of the previously disadvantaged, can be made available to increased numbers of students through systematic needs assessment, curriculum and staff development, and continuing professional and citizen collaboration toward equality and excellence.

These findings seem to indicate that progress in urban education is possible and is proceeding, but partnerships are desirable, if not essential. In this regard, a critical issue for the 1980's is whether the improvement of urban education will be integral to urban revitalization, or only a secondary factor which is forced to react to other circumstances. This was the challenge considered at the conference.

The Concerns of Progress and Partnerships for Urban Schools

The need to focus the relationship between the educational system and other societal institutions was emphasized further by other speakers. According to Fred G. Burke, Commissioner of Education for the state of New Jersey, "the resources are there, we simply don't use them."

Burke began his presentation with reference to current threats to the public education system that have resulted from the isolation of the legal system from the educational policy process. In particular, he cited the petitions to set up voucher systems in Michigan and California, and "white flight" resulting from desegregation which is "draining our better students into private schools." The only way we are going to avert these threats, according to Burke, is by contributing to the improvement of the quality of life in the cities. The schools are both vital to this effort and, at the same time, dependent upon its success for survival. This interrelationship is pointed out by looking at the schools' responsibility for preparing students for the job market. Implicit here, a theme that emerges in other contexts throughout the conference, is the notion that this is one of the important contributions that schools make to the revitalization of the cities. But schools cannot prepare students for jobs unless they are able to teach them basic skills. The learning of basic skills is dependent, in many ways, on parent involvement and cooperation. Thus, in order to contribute to the revitalization of the cities, schools must have input from the community.

The issue of parent involvement was also highlighted by Dr. Barbara Bowman, director, Erikson Institute, Loyola University. In her discussion of early childhood education, Bowman pointed out that there needs to be a reorientation of attitude in educators' efforts to involve parents in the education process. In particular, she feels that educators must stop telling parents how to raise their children, a practice that only leads to parent alienation from the school system. Instead she proposed that the focus of parent involvement be on helping parents to develop positive and supportive networks.

Bowman was further concerned with structural features of early education programs such as Headstart that promote racial discrimination in schools. She cites two such features relating to curriculum and early screening. In the first instance, she contrasts the emphasis on the development of basic skills in such programs with the "playing with ideas" orientation of

white middle-class nursery schools. Opting for the latter orientation, she claimed that there is no evidence that it is necessary for four-year-old minority children to learn to read any sooner than their white middle-class peers.

Bowman further finds early screening to be debilitating in that young minority children are frequently placed in special education categories on the basis of non-academic criteria. Both of these features result in the continuation of racial discrimination within schools and "although the public schools shouldn't be held responsible for all minority problems, they should get rid of discrimination in schools."

Focusing on the current charge of urban educators, Dr. LaMar Miller, executive director of the Metropolitan Center for Education Research and Development at New York University, claims that the goal of urban education is to reclaim the youths who have been lost. Recognizing that there are economic, social and political reasons for these losses, Miller calls for a change in focus from the "campus to the community." This requires that there be a change in focus from pre-service to in-service teacher training. Teachers, Miller finds, are generally isolated from their students' home communities when demographic changes are requiring that they acquire competencies to deal with different student populations. Miller proposes the development of in-service programs with two important features. First, they would involve parents who would then have a forum for expressing their feelings about the quality of their children's education as well as helping teachers to understand better the social and economic features of the community they serve. Secondly, they would involve administrators or, in Miller's terms, a "whole school concept" because "you can't change teachers without changing administrators."

Quality education also dominated the presentation made by Dr. Charlie Mae Knight, Associate Superintendent for Elementary Education Programs for the State of California. It is her view that it is time to stop concerning ourselves with integration for which we "don't have funds or commitment by either blacks or whites." Like Fred Burke, Knight fears the possibility of the voucher system. Vouchers, she notes, could very well sap the quality out of the public schools leaving them only for the poor.

Looking at federal and state compensatory programs, Knight calls for the development of coalitions which would share personnel and funds, the development of a common language, and a stop to categorical competition. She feels that this is the only way that programs for the poor can continue to serve effectively in a time of fiscal and social conservatism.

Many of the themes that were brought out under the rubric of "Educating Urban Youth" also appeared in the keynote and panel discussions on "Emerging Partnerships." Not only do we find here the same calls for increasing awareness, understanding and communication between groups, but we also find examples of how coalitions between schools and businesses, and between the federal government and school communities, can and have been effected.

Thacher Longstreth, the President of the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and Chief Executive of the PENJERDEL Corporation, discussed the relationship between the business community and the education system. In line with Fred Burke's model of city-school relationships, Longstretn pointed out that businesses consider the quality of the school system in an area when evaluating whether to expand or relocate there. In some areas where business growth has leveled off, the leveling process itself is partly due to the perceived failure of schools in those areas. In order to upgrade the quality of schools, a number of businesses have become involved in their local education systems. Such involvements have essentially

taken two forms. In the first instance, business leaders have worked with school administrators in applying business methods to developing more efficient school system management. In the second, they have become partners with schools in developing career education programs in order to help students to develop the basic skills necessary for entrance into the job market.

The success of such partnerships, according to Longstreth, depends on the existence of individuals in both the education and business communities who are willing and able to take on a broker role. That is, because there is a certain antagonism, a "love-hate" relationship between business and school communities, there have to be individuals involved who will learn the other's policy orientations and language and who are able to translate for both sides.

Crystal Kuykendall, Director of the Urban and Minority Affairs Department at the National School Boards Association, stated that in spite of the urgency and seriousness of the urban problem, there is still great resistance to finding a solution. She contributed the following ideas for making partnerships work:

1. Partnership is everyone's job. We must realize that *we* are all in this together.
2. Educators must welcome parents into the school building.
3. All parties must be committed to making the partnership work.
4. We must be willing to step out of traditional roles and jobs and walk in the shoes of the other person.
5. Members of boards of education must become aware of community needs.
6. Teachers need to hear more of us say that education is affective They have to deal with how children feel, think and value.
7. We have to let administrators know that administering a school district means using all the resources of the community.
8. Business can expand "Adopt a School" programs to give parents and children the opportunity to experience the world of work.
9. The actors in the partnerships must have equal access to information and equal knowledge of how to use the information available.

Bill Smith of the Teacher Corps suggested that collaboration must provide a framework for urban education. Because partnerships lay bare the strengths and weaknesses of the parties concerned, they are potentially threatening to education; they are complicated, confrontative and confusing, and leave few historical precedents from which to learn. However, collaboration is possible because the "movement to deal with the whole child in a humanistic framework is growing." His recommendations are that:

1. Parity is the keystone of mutual collaboration.
2. Trust and openness are necessary in the relationship between helper and helpee.
3. We must understand and respect vested interests.
4. Everyone enters the collaboration process from a position of power.
5. There is recognition that all are equal although some are more equal than others.
6. Those rich in resources must share with others.

7. Participants in the collaborative process can grow from negative findings.
8. Every effort to improve schools must be directed at the student.
9. We must have open, flexible, adaptive citizens if we are to face the 21st century.

Norward Roussell of the Mott Foundation reviewed the Foundation's SNAP program. This program provides 267 schools and neighborhood groups with $15,000 over a three-year period to use as seed money to find creative ways to improve local schools. In this experience, Roussell said, he found out that money can serve as a barrier as well as an incentive. It is more likely to be an incentive when everyone is involved in the decision-making process. In his judgment the ingredients for partnership are:

1. Belief that the effective partnerships can make a difference.
2. Trust between participants; commonality of goals.
3. A system of openness.
4. The taking of risks.
5. Developing processes for identifying and linking resources to meet needs.

These are no easy tasks, especially in urban-area schools which frequently operate in a pervasive climate of suspicion and self-interest.

Bob Taggert, from the U.S. Department of Labor, told of federal involvement in the problems of urban education. According to Taggert, the Carter administration has spent more money on the War on Poverty than did the previous administration. Furthermore, this spending was done in collaboration with state and federal agencies. It is the Congress, however, that approves the allocation of federal dollars and Congress chose to consolidate its funding of youth legislation by directing that all federal dollars flow to the local level through CETA and the Department of Labor.

Congress wants better articulation between school and work in order to improve work programs, to keep kids in school long enough to graduate, to grant academic credit for work experience, to force cooperation between federal participants, and to make sure that work in school leads to a future occupation. Funding of these programs is temporary, though, and new decisions will be made in 1980. It is time that educators become involved in the funding game and in influencing those decisions. The present federal initiative is funding many educational alternatives, among them, youth work programs, expanded computerized career information systems, funded apprenticeships, youth vouchers, demonstration projects, experimental employment programs that guarantee students part-time work, and summer employment for disadvantaged youth. These programs will be tested in 17 urban centers with 37,000 youth. The Job Corps will be expanded to 90,000 participants and will add a junior college level to its academic program. The Carter administration is committed to educational and employment opportunities for urban youth. Indeed, this is probably its single most important and cohesive urban initiative.

Another set of conference concerns addressed a series of questions about urban parents. These were:

- What are the forces leading to a change in the rights and responsibilities of parents?

- What is the required development time if professionals can be trained to help parents without controlling them?
- In what ways can urban parents help schools?

Allan Alson of the Institute for Responsive Education addressed all three of these questions. He talked about parent councils which have been organized to involve parents in desegregation mandates and cited four basic problems:

1. Emphasis has been on structure rather than function.
2. They rarely support services for parent training.
3. There are no rewards for administrators to help parents.
4. Emphasis in parent involvement efforts is not in the area of evaluation and program improvement or modification.

Alson stated that the only way useful relationships between schools and parents will develop is if parents are allowed to use their perceived needs and interests as a basis for their activity. Parents come to these tasks with varied backgrounds and interests and it is to everyone's advantage to capitalize on that diversity.

Leah Fitchue, of the Office of Minority Education of the Educational Testing Service, was concerned with the mother's role in the academic achievement of minority children. Beginning with the premise that self-destructive behavior is abnormal, she considered why children in urban areas, who begin school with high self-esteem and motivation to learn, begin to fail by the time they reach the third grade. She concluded that they learn to be dumb in schools, and one reason for this is the kind of nurturing they get at home. To resolve this problem, Fitchue suggests, like Bernard Watson and others, that the bridge between home and school be rebuilt so that the mother's nurturing role is extended to facilitate the child's ongoing academic development.

Elayne Brodie, President of the National Coalition of Title I Parents echoed the same theme of "rebuilding the bridge" between the home and the school. Brodie eschews the fact that 85 percent of Title I monies go to salaries rather than other services. She feels that "We have become a nation of mechanics. We know how to do a lot of things, but deal with people as if they were objects." Consequently, the parents who are encouraged to participate in education are those who support the bureaucracy, not those who have ideas of their own.

One participant's research showed that the only successful partnership between community people and educators occurred when homeowner and tenant associations, which had access to knowledge and resources generally unavailable to educators, were involved. The special skills and resources of business, too, promoted successful partnerships. Assuming that the ability of all parties to contribute knowledge and other resources is a basic criterion for a partnership's success, how can parents and other community members become equal members in successful partnerships with schools?

A symposium on neighborhood and school improvement described different strategies of community involvement in education. Wib Walling discussed White House commitment to the Cities-in-Schools initiative being developed in three American cities. This innovative project features social agencies' delivery of comprehensive services to a targeted population within the urban school, usually at the secondary level. Don Treloar of the Prudential Insurance Company in Newark, New Jersey reviewed a recent proposal by the Governor's

Task Force to support ten different models of urban community education across the state of New Jersey. Alice Shabecoff, representing HUD, discussed the new neighborhood initiatives in federal policies and urged the involvement of urban educators. John Richardson, a community school principal in Elizabeth, N.J., discussed the various ways in which community schools influence surrounding neighborhoods. A major conclusion of this symposium was that schools and neighborhoods should jointly share and develop agendas for urban reforms that better the quality of life for everyone.

Other Realities

Keynote speakers touched upon other realities of urban schools as well. M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, urged that "talkers" about urban problems become "doers." He cautioned that the national commitment to urban development may not be as strong as it should be. Holman believes that support for a positive urban policy is extremely fragile and that substantial commitment and resources for urban programs will only be achieved through extremely hard efforts, some of which are bound to be unsuccessful. He asked urban educators to overcome their frustrations and to work better and harder with urban youth.

Dr. Zacharie Clements sounded a similar theme. Clements urged a positive commitment to urban schools, stressing that love and hope are still important elements in educational progress. Both urban educators and urban students, said Clements, should develop a more positive self-image.

Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, of the U.S. Court of Appeals, reviewed the origins of "institutional racism" in American society. Using his recent *A Matter of Color* as a source, Higginbotham reminded the conference that American society, once organized around legal and economic foundations of slavery, is still in the process of evolving its segregated institutions toward genuine integration. He urged educators to work to eradicate the vestiges of racism from our schools.

David Hornbeck, Maryland's State Superintendent of Schools, and Mike Garn of the Urban Institute, reviewed the fiscal and economic realities of urban America during a time of post-affluence. Two conclusions were apparent:

- Urban educators will need to achieve better performance with existing resources.
- Urban schools, especially those in deteriorating areas, should direct their students toward job opportunities in high technology industries and less toward the stagnant and declining blue collar industries.

Strategies in School Management for Urban School Systems

Given the concerns and constraints discussed at the conference, the final sessions reviewed urban school management. These began with a keynote presentation by former Wilmington, Delaware superintendent Thomas K. Minter, now Deputy Commissioner of the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, U.S. Office of Education. Minter declared that the most serious management reality affecting large cities is finite resources and this is particularly true in education. In the future, resources must be allocated so that school district purposes and goals are clearly defined and achievable. The development of a management system is serious business, said Minter. Managers must possess the "wisdom to change in response to needs." Because the quality of educational leadership provides a managerial

framework, it is imperative that educational managers develop a broad and inclusive understanding of economics, politics, and federal policy. Also, they should focus on individual classroom techniques to make learning effective for the child. The higher a manager ascends in the decision-making hierarchy, the broader should be his or her understanding of economic, political and social issues. An educational manager needs to understand clearly that Proposition 13 did not focus specifically on the schools, but rather against a bureaucratic government structure that is being pressured to do more with less. The need for partnership and linkages with schools on all levels is born out of public frustration and the reality of making dollars go further.

Minter cited several recommendations for developing and fostering not only the successful administration of schools but also closer partnerships between schools and the community:

1. Develop consortia of training stations for urban managers.
2. Provide administrative training commensurate with the level of the administrator in the hierarchy and his or her span of control. Adapt the extensive military training models for the management of social and educational programs.
3. Make more information available to educators on the administration and creation of federal programs in education.
4. Foster the support of the goals of the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, especially:
   a) access to mainstream education for the disadvantaged;
   b) quality of Title I programs;
   c) new directions for the Urban High Schools Initiative.

Minter went on to indicate that although federal dollars do stimulate change, the federal government is a small partner in an enterprise which locally spends 60 or 70 billion dollars or so a year on education. It is Congress that ultimately determines the boundaries of federal involvement in education, based on needs identified at the local level.

In a special symposium of Big City Superintendents chaired by Dr. Ronald Lewis, Superintendent of Plainfield, N.J., John Crew, Superintendent of the Baltimore public schools, stressed the need for big city superintendents to become better managers of the educational enterprise. Because at least one-third of the superintendent's time is concerned with management, he or she must understand budgets, inventory control and service delivery. He suggested that current ways of managing schools may be outdated. School systems should be developing co-manager systems—one superintendent for management and another for instruction. In addition, better use should be made of the assistant superintendents in the delivery of educational services. The question that remained to be answered, however, concerned the relevance of better managerial systems vis-a-vis the achievement of students. Do school systems with effective management systems produce high student achievement scores?

Joseph Viteritti, Assistant to the Chancellor of the City of New York, reviewed the management training program instituted at the New York City Board of Education. Viteritti commented that although educators were concerned with the application of management

practices to education, management, as a concept, was alien to them. One of his tasks at the Board, he mentioned, is to work with a training group in trying to help middle managers to clarify their managerial roles, define the organizational mission, and design ways of channeling resources for the delivery of services. The group is currently in the process of designing workshops with line managers in order to design a custom-made management system at central headquarters. Already, a principals' training program has been instituted in cooperation with experienced principals. Viteritti concluded that most educators are open to techniques that help them to do a better job.

Robert Wentz, Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools, described the efforts of his school system to manage systematic self-renewal. The system's primary tool is an Issues Seminar. The Issues Seminar includes eight different homogeneous groups (superintendents, secondary principals, two elementary principals, secondary teachers, elementary teachers, secondary students and members of the board of education) who met separately every other week to discuss and make recommendations about issues pertaining to their own particular role or to the St. Louis School District as a whole. The groups used a conceptual framework developed by Harold Lasswell to ensure a disciplined approach to problem solving. In addition, circulating each group's meeting minutes to all groups, tracking each group's recommendations so that they didn't get lost in the bureaucratic maze, and "subpoenaing" board employees to address group concerns facilitated the free exchange of information and ideas. In terms of specific effects, the seminar process increased the system's leadership potential, proposed an administrative reorganization of secondary education, and analyzed proposed system-wide desegregation plans.

Eugene Eidenberg, Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, offered another perspective on the management and governance of urban education. Eidenberg encouraged educators to become involved in the evolution of the President's national urban policy and related the President's initiative to what is happening in urban schools. The basic question being asked in federal circles with respect to domestic programs is: To what extent is the 85 billion in federal dollars allocated annually to local communities being wisely and effectively used?

Eidenberg indicated that we are entering a period in which the federal administration's number one priority is the control of inflation. Increased federal dollars to education will do no good if eaten up by inflation. "The priority is to get control of private and public sector inflation, to put the brakes on the rate of expansion of public sector expenditures and to manage better the resources we already have." Putting the brakes on federal spending does not mean that there is less of a Presidential commitment to education. The expectation of the American public is that with management techniques and creativity, the dollars we currently have will be more effectively spent. This action comes at a time when the President has signed into law the highest Elementary and Secondary School Act expenditures since its adoption in 1965, and has proposed the first coherent national urban policy.

The administration's strategy is built on the proposition, according to Eidenberg, that:

> The institutionalization of private and public sector investments holds out better long-term hope for building from sources of strength within our cities than does the ad hoc grant and strategy which puts short-term federal dollars into a community for two, three or four years and withdraws those dollars on a

declining basis for several years thereafter—leaving the community with higher expectations and an infrastructure that hasn't been developed to provide for new and needed innovative services. What we need to do is to provide federal support as a catalyst for institutional renewal.

The objective of the federal government is to create a federal package of resources that will entice the private and public sector to target resources to areas of need as identified by leadership in the cities. The essence of the federal policy is flexibility in targeting resources to needs identified by local community leaders. The comprehensive planning and coordination of all social, health and educational services in a given community must be a local responsibility.

It is this comprehensive local urban policy that is connected to the mission of urban educators. The role education and student development are to play in that policy must be created within the total context of community development strategies. Eidenberg suggested that we have created elaborate political structures to protect education from politics. Yet we want the political system to support education financially. Therefore, we need to re-think the role of politics in education. The electorate will no longer let the politicians keep arms-length distance from local education. The question for urban educators is whether the politicization of education will be positive or negative. It becomes incumbent on local educators to sit down with the people in city hall and decide where schools fit into the long term development of the city. This, too, is one of the new management needs of urban educators in the next decade if we are to close the loop between national policies and local realities.

II. CONCERNS AND CONCLUSIONS FOR RESEARCH AND PLANNING

This section presents some general conclusions about research and planning for urban education. Section III proposes a comprehensive framework by which these can be achieved.

General Conclusions

There are at least five general conclusions with respect to the integration of urban schools into the context of national educational and urban policy.

First, the urban school and the urban district must be viewed as an integral part of other systems. The tendency of education researchers and administrators to view educational systems as primarily if not fully autonomous is dysfunctional to the analysis of urban education. Instead an ecological perspective must be developed which views the urban school as embedded in other urban systems, economic, political, social, etc. Such a perspective was proposed by Frank Spikes in a paper presented at the previous national conference on urban education.

Spikes wrote:[4]

> Ecological modeling gives to the educational planner a view of the total structure which might otherwise be absent. Such macro-level inquiry examines new properties and reveals new behavior which might not appear at lower levels of analysis. Inferential linkages between heretofore unrelated subsystems are seen. Finally, macro inquiry provides the educational planner with a tool which can highlight the inter-connections between sub-systemic variables, the supra-system, and the future of the educative activity.

Figure 1 is a partial portrayal of such an ecological system used for the purpose of identifying alternative futures. By projecting different values for differing systematic variables, various alternative futures can be forecast, choices made clearer, and additional

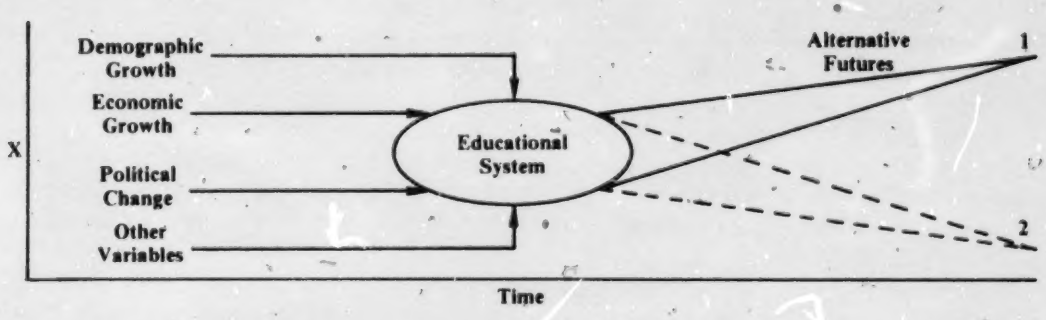

Figure 1: Eco-System Forecasting Model

[4]Frank Spikes, "The City, the University and Continuing Education: A Model for Interagency Program Planning and Delivery," St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, November 1977.

options identified. Such models bring into focus self-evident conclusions which are often ignored or denied in the day to day administration and development of policies, programs and schools.

A second general conclusion is that both urban schools and educational policy and research have survived the "six traumas" of the last decade. These traumas included:

1. The loss of population, wealth, and jobs in urban areas;
2. The absorption by urban systems of new minority and high-need populations;
3. The imposition of court-ordered desegregation plans;
4. The emergence of test scores as political indicators of school performance;
5. The development of systems of "multi-pocket budgeting" to absorb complex and diverse funding available through new federal and state programs;
6. The problems associated with budget remaking and demaking in a time of declining resources.

Each of these traumas could be discussed at length. The significant issue, however, is not necessarily the detailed examination of these problems but the realization that these phenomena have created an almost unprecedented need. That need is for federal, state, and municipal support for the management of the external and internal relationships of urban school systems.

This need is the basis for *the third general conclusion which is that the effective management of urban school systems in support of student learning and development should be viewed as a primary issue for American domestic policy in the early years of the 1980's.* With the commitment of Title I funds as the principal federal component of support to urban schools, it can be suggested that some attention should be paid to supporting the successful and effective implementation of federal intent in cities which receive a significant amount of those funds. There are approximately 60 urban school systems which receive at least $3 million a year in Title I funds. The range is from $146 million in New York and $56 million in Chicago to amounts of $3 to 5 million in cities such as Nashville, Tampa, and San Diego. Now that Title I as a national program has been "validated" through its Congressional reauthorization, it is timely to determine what sorts of technical assistance should be forthcoming to expand its educational effectiveness in our largest cities.[5]

A fourth general conclusion is that there has been little consensus about the development of priorities for the revitalization of urban education as a component of national urban policy. This lack of a priority-focused consensus with respect to possible proactive and constructive policies is in contrast to the prior consensus of some that urban education could be viewed as a series of deficits.

There are those who indicated that the problem is primarily a learning problem of disadvantaged students. These students are said to have certain language and experiential deficits associated with poverty and other socio-economic distress conditions. A second perspective focused on the inadequacy of the instructional system. These instructional deficits are either attributed to the pre-service and in-service experiences of the urban teacher, or to the

[5]See Appendix for a list of the cities receiving more than $3 million in Title I money.

lack of adequate and appropriate curriculum materials. A third perspective was concerned with the general inadequacy of the fiscal resources to support education. As studies on municipal overburden indicate, the cost of doing the public's business in cities is dramatically higher than in smaller communities. Urban district budgets must make additional provision for security, counseling, nutrition, absenteeism, health, and other non-instructional concerns. In addition, capital funds for building renovation and new construction have not, in many cases, been forthcoming. In New Jersey, for instance, 40 percent of the urban schools were built before 1914.

A fourth characterization of the problem of urban education was concerned with what might be called the management deficit of urban districts. Given the size (number of schools), complexity (diverse population), and social-economic stress (unemployment, health problems) of urban districts, many districts are effectively undermanaged by the traditional provisions of educational administration. A further aspect of the management deficit might be characterized by a deficit of political rationality in at least some urban districts. Certainly the legal mandate of desegregation has partially contributed to this condition.

These overlapping characterizations of the problems of urban schools are not necessarily in conflict. Taken together they describe the complex reality of urban education systems. What may be in conflict are the potential developmental treatments which flow from the diagnosis associated with each of these characterizations. Different professional orientations have argued for the primacy of one micro treatment over another as the most effective or necessary way to change aspects of the macro reality. This is the reason why a priority agreement on constructive action and policies has not been forthcoming. How does the federal government organize a priority-setting process for progress in urban education?

The fifth general conclusion is that the prospects for a new wave of urban reform and revitalization have never been brighter. There is some indication that the emerging markets of the 1980's may be favorable to some urban areas.

Syndicated columnist Neal Peirce, writing recently in *Nation's Cities*, said "The inner cities of America are poised for a stunning comeback, a turnabout in their fortunes that could be one of the most significant developments in our national history."

The reasons, says Peirce, are partly economic, partly demographic, and partly due to changing lifestyles. The ingredients include: (1) accelerating middle-class return to the cities, (2) the energy crisis and the rising costs of commuting, (3) the explosion of the post-World War II baby boom into the new household market, (4) changing lifestyles and growing dissatisfaction with suburban life, especially among young people, (5) skyrocketing single family home costs, (6) economies of restoration over new construction, (7) shifts in federal policy away from the "pro-suburb bias of the last three decades," (8) a strong and growing national neighborhood movement, and (9) a pronounced decline in urban crime, all breeding "fresh investment and confidence."

Although Peirce does not mention it, the growing number of women in the workforce may be an important factor, too. Having two wage earners in the family does not ease the commuter hassle, but it does increase the demand for conveniences and urban amenities while enhancing the means to fill the demand.

Less favorable perhaps to cities are the emerging post-industrial technologies which are knowledge-intensive and this may be a poor fit with the 19th century industrial infrastructure of cities in the Midwest and Northeast.

With these general conclusions in mind, it is time to turn to some specific conclusions and concerns under each of the subthemes of the conference.

Educating Urban Youth

Under this theme several conclusions are possible:

1. The debate over basic skills and standards is about over, and the diffusion of new and improved practices, especially in cities, will be a new priority. Support for this utilization of knowledge will be necessary.
2. New social forces are emerging which may lead to a dramatic increase in parental, community, and political involvement in instructional improvement.
3. Although there has been little special and sustained R&D attention to urban districts, there have been some notable R&D successes in some urban schools. It has been easier to effectively improve programs in individual schools than it has been to build similar system-wide capability.
4. The teenage employment problem and the role of the high school in urban communities will continue as a priority issue. More and more the urban high school will have to develop strategies to relate to the mainstream of adolescent experiences in the world of work and adult responsibilities.
5. Everyone seems to agree that current pre-service teacher training is woefully inadequate in preparing teachers for the ever-broadening tasks of their profession. Teacher training must be broadened to include mechanisms for developing coping skills as well as training for an awareness of the kinds of information teachers will need to function in the urban school context. One way this can be realized is by increasing support for both pre and in-service training which is relevant to particular schools. Parents and other community members should be involved in these efforts.
6. Some sessions reviewed the oral tradition of black culture as it confronts white Western traditions. Cultural and language traditions appear to be clashing within the milieu of the school. These cultural differences can be used to demonstrate the richness of learning to be gained from interchange and interaction between groups. Managing this kind of education without conflict is difficult and requires in-service support.
7. Besides basic skills test scores, other standards of improvement and performance need to be developed for urban schools. As Tom Minter asked, given the constraints and realities of urban environments, what features would a potentially successful urban education program need to have?

Fiscal Realities and Priorities

The conclusions and concerns in this area are simple but significant. These are:

1. The political economy of education, especially issues of school finance, collective bargaining, and declining enrollments will continue to be turbulent and controversial. Problems of municipal overburden, property taxes and urban budget-making will continue to keep urban school districts in the forefront of fiscal confrontations especially at the state level.

2. Current threats to public education such as "white flight" to private schools, proposed voucher systems and public rejection of increased property taxes such as expressed in Proposition 13, should not be construed simply as rejections of public schooling. They should, however, spur educators to revamp their priorities such that they will reallocate their resources with an eye toward providing quality and relevant education for the cities' youth. Budget "remaking" and "demaking" should require a greater reliance on data-based decision making.
3. The reality of finite fiscal resources and the need for creative solutions to long standing educational problems mandate the inclusion of "significant others" in the educational process. Business has a special and critical role to play in urban schools. It is in the self interest of the business community to work with schools toward the creation of a competent labor force. The same is true of other municipal agencies and non-profit organizations.
4. According to Minter, 90 percent of American people, including many educational leaders, do not understand how school funds are raised and how federal programs are devised and administered. He suggests that studies of the federal process in education would enable educators to make better use of federal funds as a supplementary resource, would diffuse much of the hostility aimed at the federal government because of the categorical nature of federal funding, and would provide understanding of the purposes and intent of federal funding by Congress—especially for those not qualified to receive it.
5. The survival of schools is reciprocally related to the revitalization of cities. The current situation in urban areas, characterized by depopulation, loss of business, and fiscal constraints at all levels of government, makes it vital that educators recognize the need to see where schools fit into the long term development of cities. The political and economic leaders of the cities also need to build "school improvement" into their developmental plans.

Legal and Political Realities

In this area the concerns seem to be more significant than the conclusions. The conclusions were:

1. With new state provisions of accountability and equalization, the historical neglect of city school systems by state education agencies (SEAs) is being replaced by new demands for state-sponsored interventions. The SEAs of most states will experience new external pressures which will affect their roles, functions and responsibilities.
2. Educators should address their critics by taking the offensive. They should not allow themselves to be held responsible for all the social problems of the cities. They must learn to be confident and publicize their accomplishments. Many programs have successfully met the challenge of educating students in urban centers--they have not, however, come to the attention of the community of persons who can make a significant impact on urban education.
3. Educators are responsible for certain ills which continue to exist within public schools such as institutionalized racism. The inferred relationships of urban schools should be

characterized by mutual respect and advocacy for human respect and dignity. Institutionalized racism must be acknowledged and dealt with.

4. Bernard Watson suggested that one reason that urban schools have failed is because educators have refused to accept the fact that education is a political institution and have consequently done their politics in an inadequate fashion. Urban educators should learn from other political institutions that have learned to deal effectively with their political functions, and learn to apply these to the educational enterprise.

Partnerships

A significant number of conclusions concerning educational partnerships were generated. These were:

1. The community school concept, and its several dimensions needs to be applied more systematically in urban districts.
2. Thacher Longstreth suggested that in order for partnerships between schools and the business community to work, it is necessary to have "brokers" in both groups. Up to now it appears that such individuals have emerged "accidentally." Training programs and structural mechanisms should be developed to train such individuals.
3. It is incumbent on educators to develop mechanisms for communicating with, and doing what they can to involve, as many other concerned individuals and institutions in the socializing of urban youth as possible. They are particularly charged with "rebuilding the bridge" between the school and the child's home and community. This can be done if parent and community involvement is made a rewarding experience for parents, teachers, administrators, and community members. This is possible only if the actors in these partnerships have equal access to information and equal knowledge of how to use that information.
4. Four keynote speakers suggested several ways to make partnerships between education and the business community successful. Aside from the equalization of knowledge between the participants previously mentioned, other critical variables necessary to promote effective partnerships need to be identified.
5. Related to the above is the fact that urban educators have been unable at times to follow up on innovations that have proven successful in the past. It is incumbent on them to work together with forces that impact on their lives to identify needs and create comprehensive development plans and lasting partnerships in an effort to capitalize on their successes and learn from their failures.
6. Teachers and administrators must become aware of the constraints of one another's daily activities. Partnerships between teachers and administrators must develop before either will be able to work effectively with other groups.

Strategies of Urban School Management

The principal conclusion with respect to urban school management is that, given all of the above, school administrators must take social, economic, political, historical and federal

policy factors into consideration in their management plans. There is no indication that the economic situation in the United States is going to improve in the near future; accordingly, school managers must allocate resources in the most efficient manner possible. Doing this without sacrificing quality education will require radically increased sophistication in all of the areas mentioned above.

Furthermore, as the baby boom generation matures into their 30's in the 1980's, new problems of mid-career mobility, opportunity, and professional renewal will emerge. Mid-career problems, both personal and professional will create myriad new demands for in-service programs.

At the same time the existing systems of technical assistance (higher education, intermediate agencies, R&D labs, private consultants) will continue to appear inchoate to the perceived needs of urban practitioners, and will require new forms of institutional R&D and capacity building.

Since many urban districts are tenured up, the development and management of staff development systems may be the essential priority for urban school improvements.

Action-Based Conclusions

The questions which remain are: What do these general and specific concerns and conclusions mean for the future of urban education? How are these conclusions relevant to the prospects for progress and partnerships in urban education? Is there a general planning framework for urban education into which the conclusions can be fit?

In the introductory overview to the volume of program abstracts from the conference, nine factors were identified which may contribute to future progress in urban education. These were:

1. A clear and coherent educational mission developed by community consensus is a prerequisite for continuing progress in urban schools.
2. Skills for collaborative planning need to be identified, developed, and strengthened.
3. Incentives for institutional reconstruction should be sought and provided.
4. Promising practices in urban partnerships should be identified and analyzed so that they can be translated into practice elsewhere.
5. Urban schools need to improve communications with their own students, families, and communities.
6. The implementation process in urban environments needs to be better understood.
7. The use of evaluation and research as management tools should be a top priority in urban schools.
8. The patterns and practices of successful urban staff development activities deserve closer examination.
9. The diffusion and adaptation of model urban programs from one site to another require more examination as to their effectiveness as strategies or tools for progress in urban education.

In the volume of selected papers a few research and development priorities were proposed. These were:

1. Research on partnerships.
2. Analysis of the political economy of resource allocation and the social economy of opportunity allocation as they affect urban schools.
3. Research on urban implementation and the translation of resources into results.
4. The development of criteria for planning, implementing, and evaluating urban staff development programs.
5. Managerial capacity building in urban districts.

The problem with these proposals and the other agendas of concerns and issues is that there is no conceptual framework for assessing trade-offs and establishing priorities for research and policy analysis in urban education. The next section will address that need.

III. A COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR PLANNING SYSTEMATIC PROGRESS FOR URBAN EDUCATION

In this section we present an initial framework for the identification of alternative and complementary issues in urban education in five categories: (a) policy analysis, (b) theory development, (c) research, (d) intentional knowledge development, and (e) knowledge utilization. The distinctions between these categories are as important as the issues developed within them.

The issues themselves represent the synthesis of concerns expressed at the conference. Each issue area could receive much more extensive exploration than is provided here, and additional issue areas could be identified. Alternative interpretations of the issues should not, however, distract from the need to focus disagreements, agreements, and discussions within the context of a general planning framework.

The proposed planning framework (Chart 1) for urban education has several functions. First, there is a need to clarify the dynamics of the federal-state-local policy context with respect to urban schools. Second, there is also a need to develop an appropriate theoretical base from which future research and practice can be guided and informed. Third, research priorities need to be established so that limited resources can be more effectively invested. Fourth, the prospects for planned experimentation in urban systems should be explored. Finally, attempts to utilize existing knowledge about effective practices for the improvement of urban education need to receive serious attention.

Chart 1

A Comprehensive Planning Framework for Urban Education

1. Policy Analysis and Development
   - 1.1 Federal Urban Policy and Its Relationship to Federal Education Policy
   - 1.2 State Urban and Education Policies
   - 1.3 Municipal Education Policy
   - 1.4 District Education Policy
   - 1.5 Community or Neighborhood Education Policy (Sub-District Level)
   - 1.6 Fiscal Aspects of Urban Education Policy
   - 1.7 Legal Aspects of Urban Education Policy

2. Theory Building for Urban Education
   - 2.1 Theories Pertaining to Deficits, Deprivation and Disadvantaged Students
   - 2.2 Ideological Theories
   - 2.3 Urban Theory and Concepts of Urbanism
   - 2.4 Urban Institutional Change
   - 2.5 Systems of Urban School Improvement

3. Research in Urban Education

- 3.1 Data Base Development and Strategic Indicators
- 3.2 Urban Structures and Functional Similarities and Differences
- 3.3 Strategies of Urban System Management
- 3.4 Stategies of Urban School Improvement
- 3.5 Promising Practices in Urban Partnerships for Urban Youth
- 3.6 Analysis of Urban Implementation of New Educational Technologies and Techniques
- 3.7 Cultural Differences and Communication Syndromes
- 3.8 The Characteristics and Management of Individualized Learning Programs in Urban Environments
- 3.9 The Characteristics of Effective Urban Schools
- 3.10 The Characteristics of Successful Urban Projects in Research, Development, Adoption and Adaptation.

4. Intentional Knowledge Development

- 4.1 Capacity-Building in Urban Educational Management Systems
- 4.2 Alternative Models of Urban Community Education
- 4.3 Incentives for Alternative Approaches to Urban Staff Development
- 4.4 Development of Urban Youth Budgets
- 4.5 Urban Diffusion Systems

5. Knowledge Utilization

- 5.1 Urban Utilization of Results of Basic Skills Research
- 5.2 Urban Utilization of School Improvement Research in the Broader Community Development Processes Supported by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
- 5.3 Training in the Skills Required for Collaborative Planning
- 5.4 Utilization of Research and Evaluation Results and Processes as a Management Tool in Urban Districts

Policy Analysis and Development

1.1 Federal Urban and Educational Policies

On March 27, 1978 the Carter administration announced a "new partnership" for American communities. It was the first time that a President has articulated a comprehensive set of policies to guide federal actions and programs for American cities.[6] This "New Partnership" consisted of nine commitments. These were:

1. Encourage and support efforts to improve local planning and management capacity, and the effectiveness of existing federal programs, by coordinating these programs, simplifying planning requirements, reorienting resources, and reducing paperwork.

[6]It should be noted, however, that Daniel Moynihan, serving as domestic advisor to President Nixon, developed ten principles for federal urban policy in 1970. These can be found in *Towards A National Urban Policy*, ed. D. P. Moynihan, Basic Books, New York, 1970.

2. Encourage states to become partners in assisting urban areas.
3. Stimulate greater involvement by neighborhood organizations and voluntary associations.
4. Provide fiscal relief to the most hard-pressed communities.
5. Provide strong incentives to attract private investment to distressed communities.
6. Provide employment opportunities, primarily in the private sector, to the long-term unemployed and disadvantaged in urban areas.
7. Increase access to opportunity for those disadvantaged by a history of discrimination.
8. Expand and improve social and health services to disadvantaged people in cities, counties, and other communities.
9. Improve the urban physical environment and the cultural and aesthetic aspects of urban life.

These commitments were then translated into 15 major legislative proposals. The major impact of these proposals for the country's youth was the dramatic expansion of youth employment funds through the U.S. Department of Labor. In the published status report[7] on this urban initiative the only reference to education policy was the modest expansion of the "Cities in Schools" program. There was no reference to the new Title I concentration funds in the reauthorized Elementary and Secondary Education Act as being an integral part of federal urban policy.

An analysis of both the proposed legislation and the provisions for greater interagency coordination of federal programs affecting cities indicates at least three commendable new policy directions. These are:

- a community reinvestment strategy focused on neighborhood revitalization
- a concern with the quality of life in urban communities and neighborhoods
- an emphasis on "targeting" economic development and employment training resources to high need areas and populations

There is, however, no apparent federal attempt to link these policies and the associated programs to "educational" needs or opportunities. Indeed, the Economic Development Authority in the U.S. Department of Commerce has a "positive prohibition" against providing funds for school construction or renovation.[8]

Earlier in 1978, the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE), which represents 33 federal departments and agencies and reports to the Assistant Secretary of Education, released a preliminary seven point proposal for the federal role in education. These roles were:

- To assure equality of opportunity for a quality education for each citizen;

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[7] *A New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities*, a Status Report on the President's Urban Policy, The White House, Washington, D.C., June 1978.

[8] It should be noted that the research in New Jersey shows that 41 percent of all currently utilized urban schools in that state were constructed prior to 1914. If this condition is present in other states, it represents a real barrier to both educational opportunity and urban redevelopment.

- To strengthen the quality of education, responsiveness to changing educational and social needs, efficiency and effectiveness;
- To improve relationships among education, training and work especially in areas of critical personnel supply problems;
- To encourage the development of lifelong learning opportunities;
- To meet a variety of recognized national needs, such as advancing education in the sciences, the humanities, the arts, international affairs;
- To aid special federally related groups such as Indians, veterans, military dependents and certain social security beneficiaries; and
- To exercise leadership in the support of basic research in education and in the encouragement of applied, developmental and evaluation research, and to assure the widespread dissemination of knowledge acquired through the research process.

Although these proposed roles show an implicit concern for providing greater and better education in high need areas, there is no explicit commitment or reference to either urban (or rural) education.

Three proposals are possible:

- It is clear that there are several apparent ways to "close the loop" between federal urban and educational policies and programs. HEW and HUD should develop a vehicle to do this.
- Except for the commitment to New York City, federal urban policy is diffuse and lacks a "Great Cities" component. The 50-60 largest Title I districts could be the basis for such a component, at least within HEW.
- The Economic Development Authority needs to review alternative methods of assessing the significance of educational facilities on employment opportunities for urban youth. HUD needs to review its support or neglect of the relationship between school facilities planning and the broader planning processes of capital and community development.

1.2 State Urban Policy

Even if federal incentives for state urban development policies are not forthcoming, it is appropriate that each state should establish its own unique urban policy.[9] There are several reasons for this. For one thing, it is the state that is ultimately responsible for defining what constitutes a city. In New Jersey, for instance, five criteria are used to define 28 urban aid cities. These range in size from Newark with a population of 378,000 to Asbury Park with a population of 17,000.

Furthermore, the nature of the urbanized condition varies widely from state to state. This is shown in Chart 2. Depending upon what definition is used, various sets of states represent the 20 most urban states.

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[9]This material is drawn from Gary Gappert and Fred G. Burke, *Federal Aid, Urban Schools and State Responsibility for Quality of Life*, N.J. Department of Education, December 1977.

Chart 2

The Twenty "Most Urban" States: Three Indicators

Density Per Square Mile		Percent Urban By Census Definitions*		Percent Population (Cities over 25,000)	
New Jersey	953	California	90.9	California	63
Rhode Island	905	New Jersey	88.9	Arizona	63
Massachusetts	727	Rhode Island	87.0	New York	57
Connecticut	624	New York	85.6	Rhode Island	57
Maryland	397	Massachusetts	84.6	Texas	55
New York	381	Illinois	83.0	Colorado	55
Delaware	277	Hawaii	83.0	Illinois	54
Pennsylvania	262	Nevada	80.9	Hawaii	53
Ohio	260	Utah	80.9	Massachusetts	50
Illinois	199	Florida	80.5	Michigan	49
Michigan	156	Texas	79.8	Nevada	48
Indiana	144	Arizona	79.5	Ohio	43
California	128	Colorado	78.7	Oklahoma	42
Florida	126	Connecticut	77.3	Wisconsin	42
Hawaii	120	Maryland	76.6	Connecticut	41
Virginia	117	Ohio	75.3	Minnesota	[illegible]
North Carolina	104	Michigan	73.9	Indiana	40
Tennessee	95	Washington	72.6	New Mexico	40
South Carolina	86	Delaware	72.1	Florida	39
New Hampshire	82	Pennsylvania	71.5	Missouri	39

*Places over 2,500 population

The anomalies are interesting. Of the top 20 states in density, the range is from almost 1000 people per square mile in New Jersey (with a density of 44,081 per square mile in Union City) to less than 82 per square mile in New Hampshire (with a density of 2,734 in Manchester). Using "percentage urban" (population living in places of over 2,500) six other states join the list, including Texas and Nevada. Using the third criterion, the percentage living in cities over 25,000 population, five other states including Wisconsin and Oklahoma appear and seven of the original list drop out.

The problem of trying to establish a rather homogeneous approach to the urban problem can be illustrated by the fact that the 20 "least urban" states control 40 percent of the votes in the U.S. Senate. This problem can be exaggerated, but the realities of federalized distribution of power within the U.S. Senate mean that 20 states acting in unison can essentially block any policy of resource allocation which does not consider their interests.

With data such as this, it should be clear that it is the state government that must make sense of how federal programs and funds can affect its highest socio-economic need population centers. Already in some states federal aid makes up over 20 percent of the total

state budget. Increasingly, both the state executive and the state legislature will be seeking to establish controls over the disposition of these funds. Although many states have followed Florida in the development of policies for the integration of social services, there is still very little functional integration between educational services and developmental initiatives. The Governor's Task Force on Community Education in New Jersey is however one such initiative which is worthwhile examining.

Besides developing some kind of inter-agency urban policy, states must invent new systems of technical assistance to municipal governments. Although our interest is primarily focused on the prospects for inter-agency and inter-urban youth policy, there is a general concern with the provision of technical assistance to urban governments. Municipal management must become much more productive in meeting its diverse and complex needs. New technical assistance centers and a new system of management support services need to be invented. These centers could focus on the adaptation of new technologies and innovative programs and practices by both the private and public sectors.

State initiatives in urban education policy are possible at several levels. These are:

- Governors can provide for the inter-agency development and coordination of the state and federal programs which impact upon cities with an emphasis on those services which affect schools and urban youth and their families.
- Legislatures can address both the questions of fiscal equalization in their state aid formula and the provision of compensatory funds appropriate to the additional costs associated with "municipal overburden."
- Special attention should also be paid to the state role in capital financing and the needs of urban districts with respect to school construction and renovation.
- State boards of education can adopt an urban priority and can initiate a formulation of urban education policy appropriate to their state.
- State education agencies can organize their commitment to urban education either by refocusing their existing resources and activities or by developing new program components appropriate to the unique educational needs of their particular districts.
- State education agencies can also use the new provisions in the reauthorized Elementary and Secondary School Act for greater state initiatives to formulate new support for urban districts out of their existing federal allocations.
- The new federal monies for basic skills improvement ($35 million) and state administration of Title I (a $16 million increase) provide an opportunity for restructuring support services to urban districts in these significant areas.

A number of state boards and education agencies such as those in New Jersey, New York, Missouri, and Texas have already embarked on new urban initiatives. The urban education policies and programs of the different states should be surveyed and shared.[10]

It is ironic, however, that in the preparation of the federal budget for FY 1980, the proposed state incentive package for urban development was eliminated because of a purported lack of support. The Office of Management and Budget also did not provide funds

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[10]For additional analysis of state urban efforts, see Harold A. Morey, *State Urban Development Strategies*. Council of State Planning Agencies, Washington, D.C. 1977.

for the incentive provisions for state programs in compensatory education which were passed by the Congress in 1978. If funded, these provisions would have allocated $83 million to about 10 states.

1.3 Municipal Education Policy

In the last several years a number of big city mayors have rediscovered the problems and opportunities of urban school systems. Test results have become a significant political indicator of the quality of education and even where mayors have no direct responsibility for educational policy and administration, they are often held accountable by the electorate.

Several strategies appear to be significant for municipal education policy. These include:

- the community education initiative of the U.S. Conference of Mayors which is operating in 25 cities.[11]
- the collaborative planning and development of an urban youth budget between municipal agencies.
- the "Cities-in-Schools" initiative and its targeting of social support services within the school setting.
- the inclusion of school improvement planning in the comprehensive community development planning required by HUD.
- better coordination of youth employment programs with urban career education.
- greater knowledge by municipal officials of the factors which contribute to better academic performance.

1.4 District Education Policy

Participants at the urban conference were convinced that a clear and coherent educational mission has to be developed for school systems with the active participation of parents, teachers, students, etc. Earlier questions about "governance" and advisory roles have been replaced with the recognition that meaningful mechanisms of involvement need to be initiated and implemented. There is also a point of view that contends that building-level educational policy has often been autonomous from both the community and the board of education.

Two proposals are almost self-evident. These are:

- urban boards of education need to review and evaluate their provisions for both educational planning and significant community involvement
- urban superintendents need to develop more cost and time effective mechanisms for the management of the educational mission.

A third proposal needs to focus on the development of an adequate capacity for the provision of supportive and systematic technical assistance to school staff. Existing forms of technical assistance and staff development services need to be evaluated.

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[11]Michael A. diNunzio, "City Government and Community Education," U.S. Conference of Mayors, Washington, D.C., 1978.

1.5 Community or Neighborhood Education Policy

Given the substantial federal interest in neighborhood revitalization and community reinvestment, there is a natural relationship between the school improvement and community involvement concerns of urban educators. Unfortunately community control conflicts associated with the educational decentralization efforts in New York City have created an inadequate and negative image of the potential for significant neighborhood-school partnerships. The federal provisions for parent advisory councils have also created some cynicism about the ways in which such involvement can be manipulated.

It is also true that urban development policies developed by municipal political and economic forces have often concentrated their efforts on the central business district and on job development efforts in industrial renewal areas.

It should be anticipated, however, that the various market forces which are influencing the current wave of urban revitalization are more consistent with concerns of neighborhood and school improvement. Indeed, there seems to be a consensus that poor educational quality is one of the last remaining barriers to greater demand for urban housing. Two considerations need to be addressed. These are:

1. A clarification of the potential and actual relationships between school improvement and neighborhood improvement.
2. The development of time-effective mechanisms for community and school planning and development.

There is also a special need to consider relationships between education and the home environment in those schools which serve public housing populations. Not only is there a need to insure that federal regulations with respect to public housing have not created an environment which adversely affects education, emphasis should be given to constructively using that environment to support learning. The quality of life in public housing could perhaps be dramatically improved through the concerted development of a wide range of educational services. Here again there is a need to clarify the context in which urban housing and educational policy can be coordinated to achieve some agreed upon goals.

1.6 Fiscal Aspects of Urban Education Policy

The recent emphasis on school fiscal reform in several states has achieved some movement toward greater equalization of student aid between urban and non-urban populations. There are some limits, however, to the effective impact of such provisions. In some cases, additional assistance to urban schools has been absorbed by much-needed property tax relief. Given the problems of municipal overburden, such tax relief also contributes to the quality of urban reform.

It should be apparent, however, that fiscal equalization for cities represents a glass which is both half empty and half full. More attention needs to be paid to what that equalization is buying. This is an area of policy analysis which could be significant to state legislatures.

1.7 Legal Aspects of Urban Education Policy

In recent years the most significant legal aspect of urban education has been in the area of desegregation. Recent efforts at metropolitan integration in Jefferson County, Kentucky, and

New Castle County, Delaware, represent significant new departures which should be assessed for their possible contribution to similar strategies elsewhere.

At another level more attention could be paid to the problems of urban school business management, collective bargaining, and the problems of in-school crime and vandalism. At a different level there have been proposals for some dramatic changes in both the length of the school year and in the length of the school week. The current school-year cycle in American education reflects agricultural needs of the 19th century. An extended school year could be structured to meet certain recreational and career education needs. It might also be useful to rethink the current school week and the possible provision of both academic and cultural services on weekends. A "new" school week could also be structured around patterns of parental participation.

At least two initiatives might be suggested. These are:

- The office of the mayor in various cities should develop a new position of education counsel or advisor who would be responsible for strategic liaison with both state and municipal agencies.
- State education agencies should review their regulations and administrative procedures to determine if such provisions are appropriate to unique urban needs.

Theory Building for Urban Education

In a time of policy urgency, it is often easy to neglect the role of theory in the management of public concerns. Experience has shown us two things.

- First, the practitioner can use a theoretical orientation to make sense out of all the diverse phenomena which impact upon managerial consciousness.
- Second, given an ecological perspective of urban systems, theory can be useful in creating models to evaluate proposed actions and to predict subsequent reactions within and between complex systems.

2.1 Deficit Theory

Although one can be critical of the emphasis on the so-called language deficit approach to the analysis of the educationally disadvantaged, psycholinguistic research in this area has considerable merit.[12] Intercultural communication can be enhanced and guided by such theories. Insofar as we have some empirical limits to research on complex mental processes, theory is necessary to advance our knowledge. It is less clear, however, if deficit theory is equally applicable to our understanding of socio-economic disadvantages.

2.2 Ideological Theories

Given the nature of our economic system and the historical legacy of race relations in our society, it is inevitable that ideological theories will continue to be significant in the analysis of

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[12]See, for instance, Clifford Hill, *Urban Minority Students, Language and Reading*, ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1977.

educational problems and conditions. Ogbu's[13] recent development of a caste theory to explain racial stratification in American society and elsewhere and its impact on educational achievement through the imposition of a "job ceiling" provides a significant example of the use of an ideological theory to illuminate educational problems. It is also true that the PUSH/EXCEL initiative of Reverend Jesse Jackson to improve educational performance in some urban communities has been evaluated in an ideological context by some observers.[14] Ideological interpretations of social change are sometimes needed to explain or make sense of otherwise disparate trends and phenomena. These theories contribute to the social learning of a society.

2.3 Urban Theory

It should be apparent that there is no national institute for urban development which is devoted to the objective and systematic development of urban theory or the application of research and development to urban institutions.[15] There are, however, alternative theories of urbanism. It could even be suggested that these theories are themselves a set of ideologies.[16] The rapid growth in the 1960's and early 1970's of new departments and schools of urban affairs has now leveled off but it can be anticipated that these small but significant groups of urbanists will be contributing to the future growth of urban theory. The institutional security of such independent departments is likely to contribute to greater interdisciplinary theory-building efforts.

The proposal for an "urban grant" component to federal higher education legislation which will be reauthorized in 1979 should be assessed for its potential contribution to such theory development. Such theories can contribute to a clearer understanding of the environmental conditions which influence urban education and impact upon urban schools.

2.4 Urban Institutional Change

Another set of arguments would suggest that interorganizational and intergovernment theory should be used to explain patterns of institutional change in urban environments. It can be suggested that all urban institutions are either influenced or determined by federal and state initiatives, resources and regulations. Models of intergovernmental impact should be developed as a way of assessing proposed federal and state policies and their influence on institutional innovations and changes in urban areas. At the same time the autonomous components of such institutional changes also need to be analyzed by similar theoretical frameworks.

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[13]John Ogbu, *Minority Education and Caste*, Academic Press, New York, 1978.

[14]Barbara Sizemore, "PUSH Politics and the Education of America's Youth," *Phi Delta Kappan*, January 1979.

[15]Some attention, however, should be paid by educators to the work of the Urban Institute, a non-profit corporation. Their publications catalog can be obtained by writing to: The Urban Institute, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

[16]Some of these concerns are discussed in the introduction in *Urban Schools in Urban Systems*, edited by Gary Gappert, Research for Better Schools, Philadelphia, 1979.

Given the conference conclusion that partnership practices in education have outdistanced theory, it is difficult to evaluate the lasting effectiveness of such activities and their contribution to institutional change. Alternative theoretical perspectives are needed to develop criteria for evaluating the significance of such efforts. Theoretical frameworks are also necessary to sort out the extensive number of diverse attempts into a series of manageable categories. A forthcoming paper, "Alternative Frameworks for Inter-Organizational Analysis," attempts to explore these issues.[17]

2.5 Systems of Urban School Improvement

Recent studies of the federal influence on educational innovation have two major deficiencies. The first is that there is excessive ambiguity about the definitions of innovation, improvement, and change. Significantly different terms are used interchangeably in such studies. There are few commonly agreed upon indicators for the more precise measurement of such changes.

The second deficiency is that few of these studies are urban-specific. The recently developed urban education studies by Francis Chase[18] are an important new initiative which may contribute to theory building on urban school improvement. The significance of federal initiatives can only be fully assessed for impact on urban school systems if stronger conceptual frameworks are provided so that tradeoffs can be identified, predicted, and subsequently measured. The modeling of alternative urban futures through the application of the new tools of futures forecasting could be used to structure the application of different theories of school improvement to the development or modification of educational programs.

Research in Urban Education

The most significant initiatives in urban educational planning are probably in the area of research. A distinction is being made in this context between research on existing systems and practices and the kind of knowledge development which comes from planned experimentation or purposeful interventions into urban educational systems.

3.1 Data Base Development and Strategic Indicators

A data base on urban education systems needs to be developed so that federal officials can better monitor the events and trends which are realities in urban schools. This data base could be simply focused on the 50 or 60 largest Title I districts or it could be extended to all communities of over 100,000 population. Alternatively it could be structured on a state level to reflect the differences in urban structures between the 50 states. A set of significant or strategic indicators should be designed for use by those federal officials and program officers responsible for administering the programs with the greatest impact on urban education.

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[17]Gary Gappert, "Alternative Frameworks for Inter-Organizational Analysis," Research for Better Schools, Philadelphia, forthcoming.

[18]Francis S. Chase, "The Regeneration of Public Education in Our Cities," *Phi Delta Kappan*, January 1979.

3.2 Urban Structures and Functional Similarities and Differences

In one sense each city is a fiscal artifact of state government.[19] Functions and services are ascribed to cities and different municipal agencies by a complex set of federal, state, and municipal regulations and historical precedents. The utilization of a data base on urban education would require some orientation to significant similarities and differences between these urban structures. A taxonomy of different types of urban systems should be used to develop several case study analyses of trends affecting the performance of urban education systems. Such studies should also include longitudinal interpretations of educational budgets.

3.3 Strategies of Urban School Management

Given the complexity of urban school systems within different structures of governance and administration, general concepts of educational administration are often dramatically modified in practice. Promising practices in urban school management should be identified and compared.

3.4 Strategies of Urban School Improvement

In the initial publication of his research program, Francis Chase identified a significant number of educational innovations in 30 cities. These programs were clustered in the four areas of Action-Learning, Basic Skills, Cultural Pluralism, and School/Community Interaction. Additional research could be used to identify the types of strategies associated with the implementation of each of these different types of improvements.

3.5 Promising Practices in Partnerships

If participants at the urban conference were correct, there has been a virtual explosion of partnerships in urban education. Similarly, the provisions of a considerable number of federal programs call for new advisory and coordination relationships. In practice these arrangements may be positive, perfunctory, conflict-provoking, or resource enhancing. The best practices need to be identified, analyzed, and shared. Problems which cause negative partnerships should be discovered and eliminated.

3.6 Implementation of New Educational Technologies and Techniques

It is unclear which educational technologies and techniques have been successfully adopted and implemented in urban school systems. These technologies can sometimes contribute positively to productivity and student performance. In other cases they have absorbed large amounts of resources which could have gone to instructional services.

3.7 Cultural Differences and Communication Syndromes

In spite of all the research on cultural differences and their application to student communication, we know very little about how school systems have applied this knowledge in

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[19]Seymour Sacks, "The City as Fiscal Artifact," *The Social Economy of Cities*, edited by Gary Gappert and Harold Rose, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Urban Affairs Annual, 1975.

practice. Many different urban teachers who have experienced the demographic turnovers of the last decade have developed diverse practical techniques to improve their communications with students. Similar efforts have been made with parents and other members of the related communities. It would be useful to conduct research by collecting and analyzing this significant body of practical knowledge.

3.8 The Characteristics and Management of Individualized Learning Programs

Following from the above research should be an effort to understand the different ways in which individualized learning systems have been adopted or implemented in urban educational environments. The assumption is often made that the range of individual differences is greater in urban classrooms. If that assumption is true, the management of individualized learning programs is probably both more important and more difficult. An analysis of the status of such programs could be very useful and contribute to their improvement.

3.9 Characteristics of Effective Urban Schools

Recent research by Ron Edmonds[20] and others on the nature of effective urban schools should be supplemented by additional research on effective urban schools in different kinds of urban environments. Here again the recognition of the influence of different state and urban structures upon school effectiveness could be incorporated in the expansion of such research.

3.10 The Characteristics of Successful Urban Research and Development

Francis Chase's work in this area is a significant beginning and should be used to guide an evaluation of federal R&D efforts which have had an urban base. Such research could also serve as an urban R&D needs assessment for future development funding.

Intentional Knowledge Development

The research proposed above assumes that innovation in urban education has begun and is continuing. The purpose of such research is to identify and share existing practices and wisdom. In the area of knowledge development the purpose is to identify needs which may be significant in the 1980's and to propose innovations and initiatives which will strengthen the ability of urban systems to address those concerns.

4.1 Capacity Building in Urban Educational Management Systems

A review of the conference proceedings and related issues would lead one to believe that efficient and effective management of the external and internal relationships of an urban school system is the educational equivalent of landing a person on the moon. The analysis seems to indicate that the complexity of urban educational systems may have to increase if progress is to be sustained and improved. Plans to support managerial development in large city school systems through a program of urban leadership grants should be developed. Some

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[20]Ron Edmonds, "Search for Effective Schools," Center for Urban Studies, Harvard University, 1978.

consideration should also be given to the development of a small number of urban staff institutes which could provide training and technical assistance on a regional basis.

A more utopian idea would be to design an experimental national urban staff college which would provide extensive managerial and leadership education for promising middle managers from the entire range of municipal agencies. An alternative fantasy would be the creation of a national institute for intergovernmental effectiveness. This institute would focus on training and research to improve intergovernmental performance in the several layers of the federal system that impact on the largest cities.

Any approach to managerial capacity-building in urban districts would however need to incorporate three components. These are: (1) a core curriculum, (2) a clinical approach to individual managerial circumstances, and (3) institutional reconstruction.

4.2 Alternative Models of Urban Community Education

The expansion of interest and projects in community education has not been accompanied by a rigorous evaluation of which elements of the different models of community schools are cost-effective. Given the state responsibility for both education and coordination of federal social programs, several state plans to implement a systematic approach to community schools in different urban communities should be supported and evaluated.

It is also true that most efforts in community education have been focused at the building level, usually by an exceptional principal. These efforts are usually extremely effective at improving the community's interest in, and utilization of, their neighborhood school. It is less clear whether these efforts have a positive impact on student achievement. It is also unclear whether an entire district can successfully implement a comprehensive strategy of community school development. At the very least the existing knowledge base with respect to urban community education could be more rigorously assessed.

4.3 Incentives for Urban Staff Development

Effective staff development programs usually have a "hands-on" building-site focus. Incentives to develop such programs locally according to some agreed upon common criteria could be a useful initiative. Some cross-site analysis of the urban initiatives by the Teacher Corps and the Teacher Center Program could be used to develop such criteria and guide an urban expansion of effective programs.

4.4 The Development of Urban Youth Budgets

Several strategies for designing and developing collaborative budget-making between urban agencies serving youth in and out of school should be initiated and supported. These strategies could range from simple communication and coordination to collaboration and the joint delivery of services. The implementation of several such attempts in different cities could test the feasibility of such efforts for their impact on student learning and development.

In a different fashion the budget analysis techniques of such groups as the Educational Priorities Panel in New York City and the production function research of the Federal Reserve Bank with the Philadelphia school system are examples of knowledge development which should be replicated systematically in several other cities to determine their utility for understanding the implementation problems of urban education budgets.

Another research strategy might be to cost out the kind of services which an urban school system requires and consumes from other municipal agencies.

4.5 Urban Diffusion Systems

Little is known about the ways in which urban schools and systems adopt and adapt effective programs and practices from the national "bank" of R&D products. Recent research, however, by the National Diffusion Network (NDN) indicates that there were a total of 551 NDN adoptions in 48 cities. These adoptions in urban areas are only 7.8 percent of the total number of the estimated 7000 NDN adoptions. Significantly, 38 percent of the urban adoptions were by private schools. But nine cities had 23 or more adoptions and one city had as many as 63. This research and the experience of the New Jersey State Facilitation project also indicated that targeted diffusion efforts at particular cities can lead to multiple adoptions in the urban districts of several diverse projects. It was also determined in New Jersey that other municipal agencies were able to adapt some of the early childhood and adolescent programs to their particular needs in serving those age groups.

Two significant initiatives might be:

1. Several urban diffusion systems should be designed and implemented to work with different types of urban school districts. These could be supported or implemented by several different HEW programs. At least one of these systems should be targeted at other municipal agencies serving urban youth.
2. The regional R&D Exchange program of the National Institute of Education should incorporate an urban component which could be evaluated for its impact on urban districts.

Both of these initiatives could develop significant new knowledge in understanding the patterns and processes of the implementation of innovations in cities.

Knowledge Utilization

Given the existing knowledge base in educational and municipal practices, some attention must be paid to the more effective utilization of such knowledge and its transfer from one system to another. The complexity of urban systems inhibits the ability to obtain and utilize any single component of an external innovation. The very richness of communications within urban systems may prohibit the development of any kind of priority focus.

5.1 Urban Utilization of Results of Basic Skills Research

Some attention should be paid to the utilization of results of basic skills research by urban Title I and compensatory programs. It is sometimes true that urban schools and districts adopt curricula in the basic skills areas without either an adequate needs assessment or an adequate review of recent research findings. Different technical assistance packages for urban school improvement could be designed to incorporate the best elements of basic skills research. These packages could be targeted at several levels, including principals, teachers, and parents.

5.2 The Utilization of School Improvement Research in the Community Development Process

With the Department of Housing and Urban Development's new emphasis on neighborhood revitalization and the quality of community life, it is timely to focus the results of school improvement research and development on the different groups which are involved in the community development process. Alternative strategies of school improvement can be identified for different types of communities and neighborhoods. It is important, however, to identify the significant connections and decision points between the processes of neighborhood development and school improvement. The linkages to reinvestment strategies, inciuding anti-redlining efforts, need to be established as well.

5.3 Training in Collaborative Planning and the Joint Delivery of Services

There are skills associated with collaborative planning. Different skills are included in the joint delivery of services. As conference discussions demonstrated, there are both effective and ineffective practices. This is another area where sharing experiential wisdom can contribute to the improvement of performance.

5.4 Utilization of Research and Evaluation as a Management Tool

In the last several years a number of urban districts have used federal evaluation requirements to build a capacity in research and evaluation. In some of these districts this capacity and the associated tools and techniques have been used to manage the implementation of comprehensive improvement programs. This management approach could be more widely utilized if incentives for staff development were provided.

EPILOGUE

This review of the prospects for progress and partnerships in urban education has perhaps been influenced by several biases held by the writer. These biases are:

- a progressive bias toward the prospects for improvement in urban education
- a state bias toward the role of state governance in supporting effective urban structures, functions and services
- a managerial bias toward the role of the superintendent and his or her managerial team in the development and implementation of a coherent and effective educational mission
- a municipal bias toward the role of the mayor, the board of education, and other municipal agencies in the provision of services and actions in support of a school improvement mission.

All these biases are based upon the assumption that there is adequate federal support for the inclusion of educational concerns in the formulation and development of a national urban policy. This also assumes that there is sufficient popular support to maintain a commitment to such a policy. This latter assumption has often been viewed with skepticism by many urbanists. In 1968, Jesse Burkhead and Alan K. Campbell wrote:[21]

> There is in fact no general agreement on any of the prerequisites to an urban policy and it is, in part, this lack of agreement which has produced the variety of ad hoc approaches to urbanism and metropolitanism that today, together, constitute urban policy.

Later, in 1976, Burkhead[22] reviewed their earlier analysis and concluded that:

> The prospects for the kinds of organizational and programmatic changes that would underpin a national urban policy are not very bright. But the directions toward which policy should move are much clearer than ten years ago.

Since then the politics of an urban policy have shifted somewhat with a new administration and with a new set of congressional committee chairpeople. But the prospects of reapportionments in the early 1980's reveal the fragility of the urban commitment. Only the market forces of a post-affluent society seem to value an urban restoration.[23] But these forces can be used to strengthen the urban coalitions and partnerships.

Out of the midst of this uncertainty, there would appear to be about five alternative futures for the educational component of a national urban policy.

First, there might be a significant new and comprehensive commitment to urban education. Such a commitment is more likely to consist of the reallocation of existing

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[21]A. K. Campbell, J. Burkhead, "Public Policy for Urban America," *Issues in Urban Economics*, M. S. Perloff, L. Wingo, eds., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1968.

[22]Jesse Burkhead, "The Political Economy of Urban America," *The Social Economy of Cities*, op. cit.

[23]Gary Gappert, *Post Affluent America*, The Social Economy of the Future, Franklin Watts, New York, 1979.

resources toward new initiatives which would impact upon urban schools rather than the development of new distinct programs which would require additional appropriations. But all federal urban programs would incorporate an educational component.

Second, there might be a selective but limited expansion of support for urban educational needs within the context of federal education policies and programs. Such an expansion would be focused on the largest Title I districts and would incorporate incentives for greater state initiatives to support urban school improvement.

Third, there might only be incremental support for urban education in a few isolated federal programs. This would increase the competition for scarce federal R&D resources and would only benefit a few urban districts.

Fourth, federal interest in urban education might continue to be limited to a few "hot" topic issues such as metropolitan desegregation, or the impact of new high school graduation requirements.

Fifth, the gap between urban policy and educational policy will continue to exist and will widen or narrow from time to time in random fashion.

In this report no attempt has been made to specify what actions should be taken by appropriate federal, state, and local officials. The intent has been to portray the range of issues and to provide a framework through which future discussions about policies and programs can be initiated. It might be appropriate to end this report with the words of Theodore Roszak from *Where the Wasteland Ends.*

He writes:

> There are dragons buried beneath our cities, primordial energies greater than the power of our bombs. Two thousand years of Judeo-Christian soul-shaping and three centuries of crusading scientific intellect have gone into their internment. We had assumed them dead, forgotten their presence, constructed our social order atop their graves. But now they wake and stir. Something in the mode of the music, in the mind-rhythms of the time disturbs them.

Appendix

Title I Allocations - FY79

(Cities receiving more than $3 million)

Albuquerque, N.M.	4,272,475	Memphis, Tenn.	10,894,831
Atlanta, Ga.	7,487,610	Miami, Fla.	12,186,748
Baltimore, Md.	18,320,569	Milwaukee, Wis.	9,478,265
Baton Rouge, La.	3,374,459	Minneapolis, Minn.	3,740,629
Birmingham, Ala.	5,220,028	Mobile, Ala.	6,043,117
Boston, Mass.	10,390,677	Montgomery, Ala.	3,305,926
Buffalo, N.Y.	7,393,715	Nashville, Tenn.	4,506,112
Charlotte, N.C.	3,464,150	New Orleans, La.	12,277,805
Chicago, Ill.	56,096,515	New York, N.Y.	146,763,844
Cincinnati, Ohio	6,035,303	Newark, N.J.	11,856,639
Cleveland, Ohio	10,409,387	Norfolk, Va.	4,511,304
Columbus, Ohio	5,005,755	Oakland, Calif.	6,363,123
Dallas, Texas	8,696,098	Oklahoma City, Okla.	3,563,071
Denver, Colo.	5,405,432	Philadelphia, Pa.	32,371,954
Detroit, Mich.	29,919,107	Phoenix, Ariz.[1]	9,453,769
El Paso, Texas	4,081,176	Pittsburgh, Pa.	7,302,767
Flint, Mich.	3,258,610	Portland, Ore.	4,527,344
Fort Worth, Texas	3,707,575	Richmond, Va.	3,676,423
Fresno, Calif.	4,759,739	Rochester, N.Y.	4,406,888
Hartford, Conn.	3,180,217	St. Louis, Mo.	9,206,813
Houston, Texas	12,201,488	St. Petersburg, Fla.	3,223,411
Indianapolis, Ind.	4,560,186	San Antonio, Texas	7,082,645
Jackson, Miss	3,233,545	San Diego, Calif.	5,554,941
Jacksonville, Fla.	7,747,973	San Francisco, Calif.	6,148,489
Jersey City, N.J.	4,206,642	Savannah, Ga.	3,053,870
Kansas City, Mo.	4,429,052	Shreveport, La.	4,232,275
Long Beach, Calif.	3,328,786	Tampa, Fla.	5,886,989
Los Angeles, Calif.	39,095,918	Washington, D.C.	14,030,322
Louisville, Ky.	5,808,655		

[1]Maricopa County

(Cities receiving between $2-3 million)

Akron, Ohio	2,299,970	Paterson, N.J.	2,799,553
Austin, Texas	2,378,927	Providence, R.I.	2,546,698
Bridgeport, Conn.	2,147,980	Sacramento, Calif.	2,732,413
Camden, N.J.	2,763,483	St. Paul, Minn.	2,351,217
Chattanooga, Tenn.	2,317,250	Seattle, Wash.	2,683,291
Columbus, Ga.	2,509,284	Springfield, Mass.	2,819,122
Corpus Christi, Texas	2,660,923	Syracuse, N.Y.	2,543,695
Dayton, Ohio	2,534,368	Toledo, Ohio	2,779,238
Des Moines, Iowa	2,113,142	Trenton, N.J.	2,134,819
Gary, Ind.	2,346,886	Tuscon, Ariz.	2,486,644
Grand Rapids, Mich.	2,800,697	Tulsa, Okla.	2,720,312
Honolulu, Hawaii	2,349,428	Wichita, Kans.	2,434,134
New Haven, Conn.	2,364,607	Winston-Salem, N.C.	2,110,043
Omaha, Neb.	2,053,026	Worcester, Mass.	2,009,066